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1. THE IRISH AND BOHEMIAN SOCIETY – AN IRISH ISLAND IN A BOHEMIAN SEA

THE ROAD TO EMIGRATION

The Irish began to arrive in Bohemia in greater numbers in the first half of the seventeenth century. They had left their native land primarily for religious reasons, because their Catholicism had exposed them to repression since the period of the Tudor dynasty, whose famous representative Henry VIII had begun to enforce a local form of the Reformation. Hand in hand with the suppression of the Catholic faith went the attempt by the English to bring the whole of Ireland under their control. At that time, Ireland was divided into three power-political-ethnic areas: the area around Dublin under direct English rule, known as the Pale; then that controlled by the "Anglo-Irish rebels," local long-term English settlers who had mixed feelings about the English occupation; and that of the original Celtic (Gaelic) inhabitants who lived in a significantly different social order (laws, institutions, traditions and language). The latter were regarded by the English as enemies. Feuds were typical, not only between all the groups, but also within individual units, particularly among the Irish, for whom – in their own words – this trait is allegedly almost a national attribute.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Irish, under pressure of an increasing consolidation of English power, rose up in a series of greater or lesser rebellions, all of which were unsuccessful and always worsened the existing conditions. The rebellion by Hugh O'Neill and his Ulster allies in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century ended in the Battle of Kinsale, the "Flight of the Earls" and the definitive subjection of Ireland by the English. Then came the confiscation of land held by Catholics and the Plantation of Ulster by Protestant Englishmen and especially Scots. Another rebellion instigated by Sir Phelim O'Neill at the end of the reign of Charles I was brutally ended by Oliver Cromwell after Charles's execution and was followed by further confiscations and a wave of emigration. Confiscated property passed into the hands of Protestants. After the fall of the English Republic, during the Restoration,

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some returned hoping for religious freedom and the restitution of their property, but of the original three-fifths of agricultural land which had been in the hands of Catholics before 1641, only one-fifth was restored.

Although in practice it was, to a certain degree, tolerated, Catholicism hovered on the brink of illegality, and representatives of the Church were often persecuted, imprisoned and executed. After the Catholic James II ascended to the throne, the situation began to change. The first Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell, Richard Talbot, James's confidant and also a Catholic, was named the Irish Viceroy and during his rule his fellow Catholics quickly began to enter government administration. However, their imminent return to the Irish Parliament was thwarted by another coup d'état in England which led to the succession of William of Orange, James's Protestant son-in-law. James then escaped to Ireland, where he summoned the Irish Parliament which proclaimed its independence from the English Parliament. William of Orange however, landed in Ireland and, after a psychologically important defeat of James at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, marched triumphantly through the country. Even though Catholics enjoyed limited religious tolerance and the confiscation of their property was not too extensive, after the Treaty of Limerick the following year, a great many Irish left the country and it was clear that the Catholic side had suffered a severe defeat. This soon manifested itself in practice in the Penal Laws, which turned Catholics into second-class citizens. Under the Penal Laws, they were excluded from Parliament, forbidden to hold government office, practise law or serve as officers in the army, and forbidden to buy land or rent it for over thirty-one years. Further indignities were imposed, in particular a prohibition on education at home or abroad. In much the same way as it was necessary to swear an "immaculate oath" on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary so as to be allowed to study at university in Bohemia, in order to study in Ireland, students were obliged to publicly deny transubstantiation and renounce certain Catholic dogma as idolatry. Despite the law of 1697 exiling the Catholic clergy and a repression lasting three quarters of a century, from 1778 onwards, the Catholics gradually managed to limit discrimination.

The previous three paragraphs show that the Irish emigrated in many waves over almost two centuries. The reasons were various; Irish soldiers were threatened with execution for rebellion, the clergy were forced to train in the more peaceful setting of a country with religious tolerance or one where Catholicism was the state religion, and Catholic students had no other choice but to study at universities on the continent.

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The greatest paradox of the arrival of the Irish Franciscans in Bohemia therefore remains the fact that, despite their own experience of cruel religious and social persecution in their own country, they arrived here in order, albeit indirectly, to participate in a parallel oppression, but this time in the name of "the one true faith."

Fig. 1 The assassination of Albrecht of Valdštejn in Cheb (Eger). Engraving by Matthäus Merian, 1639 (SK).

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AND SOLDIERS

Irish emigrants who had been forced to leave their own country for the above-mentioned reasons were welcomed in, among other places, Bohemia.[1] Among the first to arrive were the Franciscans in 1629, but the beginnings of their college were enshrouded in the bloody atmosphere of the Saxon invasion. Immediately afterwards, Irish soldiers intervened in Czech history with the murder in Cheb of Albrecht of Valdštejn (Fig. 1). The Imperial officers who had participated in the conspiracy against the "generalissimus" and in his death were richly rewarded by the Emperor: Colonel Walter Buttler,[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Geraldin,[3] Captain Walter Deveroux, Captain Edmund Burke and others. In times of war, monetary rewards were converted into estates,[4] which gradually became one of the reasons why some of Valdštejn's

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murderers settled in Bohemia. From the beginning, there were clearly close contacts between the Franciscan college and the Imperial officers, who not only had themselves buried in the church but also left the Franciscans sums of money or Mass endowments. Among the first known contributors appear the names of the Cheb conspirators, whose wills eloquently testify to the extensive friendly relations which prevailed among the Irish soldiers.

After the Thirty Years' War, a great number of the Irish nobility settled in Bohemia and, because only the high-born could serve as officers in the army, it was mainly from this group that Imperial soldiers were recruited. Apart from the families of the murderers of Valdštejn, that is, Buttler-Clonebough,[5] Deveroux and Gall,[6] there were also the D'Alton,[7] O'Brien,[8] MacCaffry,[9] MacBrady,[10] O'Donell,[11] MacEnnis,[12] Lodgman,[13] MacAwley,[14] Maquire,[15] Nugent,[16] Kavanagh,[17] O'Reilly,[18] Watlet,[19] Wallis[20] and Taaffe families.[21] The members of some Irish families sometimes intervened significantly in Czech history, while others played only an episodic role, such as the O'Hegerty[22] or Browne families.[23] Only six of these families still lived in Bohemia in 1918.[24]

We will try to establish how the Irish officers in particular left traces in the college archive, how they attempted to safeguard the Irish Franciscan college at the time, and what their attitude was towards the Bohemian side. We will also note other Irishmen who were involved with the college, although their occupation remains unknown. The wills which enabled the Irish Franciscans to make claims, whether they were successful or not, have been preserved in the original or as a copy in the archive.

The first will to be mentioned is that of Edmund Burke, written less than a year after Valdštejn's murder, in which he bequeathed the Irish Franciscans a hundred thalers.[25] If the Imperial debt for the Cheb "service" were paid (which was more than the single reward of one thousand thalers that the murderers received immediately after the deed), an additional two thousand florins would go to the college.[26] One of the other conspirators, Walter Deveroux, who according to his will dated 1639 asked to be buried in the Church of the Irish Franciscans by St. Ambrose, bequeathed them 8,000 florins (Fig. 2).[27] Walter Buttler had died childless on Christmas 1634[28] and so over the matter of the division of his property a dispute arose which lasted many decades, known as "*causa buttleriana.*" It concerned not only the newly acquired money and estates in Bohemia but also estates in Germany and Belgium. Buttler's heirs from his family gradually handed over power of attorney for the settlement of their share into the hands of their relative, Edmund O'Kennedy, court chaplain in Vienna. The first to do this was Richard

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Buttler (Fig. 3),[29] then later his brother, Thomas Theobald.[30] The attempt to settle Walter Deveroux's will is clear from the fact that in 1650 his widow gave the Irish Franciscans 1,650 florins,[31] and twelve years later bequeathed the college 16,000 florins.[32] Although in his will of 1674 Edmund O'Kennedy, already protonotary apostolic at the time, made the Irish Franciscans in Prague his universal heirs[33] (the then guardian, Bernardine Clancy, was incidentally a relative of his) and passed on to them the debts owed to him by Walter Gall, Walter Deveroux and Edmund Buttler it is not clear how much the Irish college in Prague actually received. We only know that O'Kennedy died the following year.[34] According to Hammerschmid, Buttler even bequeathed the Irish 30,000 florins, which was mostly to go towards the building of a church and a college.[35] This claim, however, seems exaggerated to us, mainly because "*causa buttleriana*" dragged on for many years afterwards.

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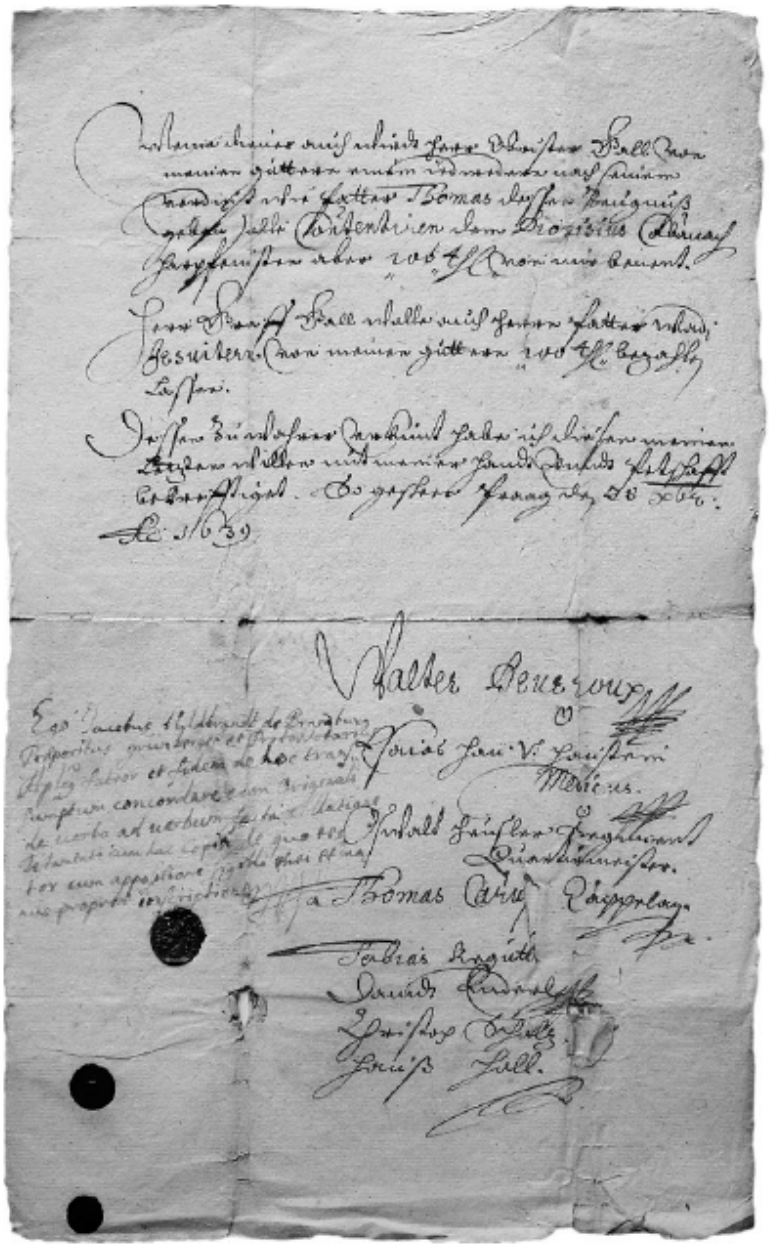

Fig. 2 The last page of Walter Deveroux's last will, 28 December 1639 (NA).

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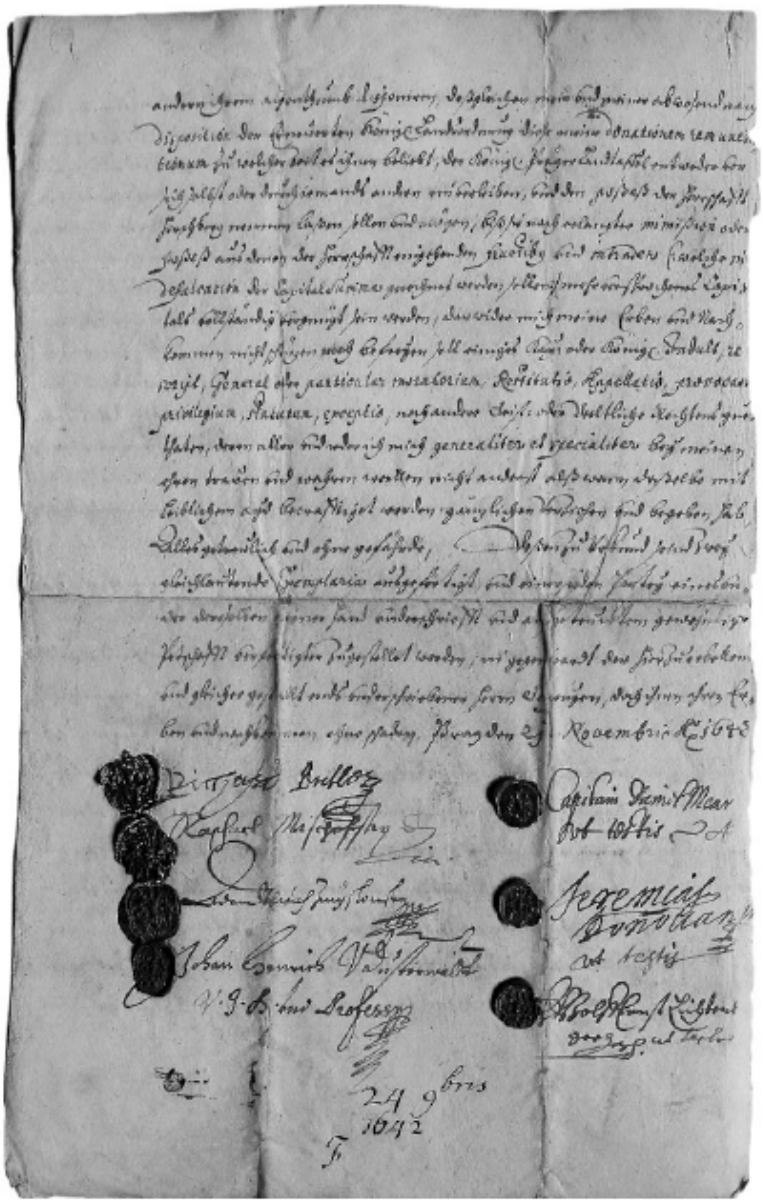

Fig. 3 The last page of Richard Buttler's last will, 21 November 1642 (NA).

Another member of the Buttler family who supported the Irish Franciscans in Prague was James.[36] As early as 1632, the commentaries on Aristotle by Pietro Tartareto were either donated by him or bought for the emerging college library with his money, as is evidenced by the postscript *"Ad usum fratrum Hybernorum collegii Pragensis ex dono illustrissimi domini Jacobi Butleri Hiberni 1632."*[37]

Another Irish officer who expressed a wish to be buried in the Irish church was the commander of the imperial guard, John de Barry, who devoted 200 thalers to this purpose.[38]

Also noteworthy from the same year is the will of Captain Jeremiah O'Donovan and the relationships which ensued. Besides the wish to be buried with his wife Judita in the chapel of the Irish Franciscan church in Prague, he included in his will a bequest to the Irish Franciscans of 1,000 florins and the material for the provision of antependia for the church.[39] His stepson,

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Thaddeus, son of the deceased commander of the guards, James O'Meary,[40] and his relative James O'Hea, a citizen of Prague's Lesser Town, were named as his heirs. Admittedly, until he came of age, Thaddeus's guardian was to be Šimon Hesselius, notary public and syndic of Prague's Lesser Town, but on all matters he had to consult with the Irish Franciscans, Bernardine Clancy and Bonaventure Bruodin. Among the friends remembered in the will are also the names of Walter Deveroux, two members of the Geraldin family,[41] Edmund MacGranna and John O'Mulraynne.[42] O'Donovan also deposited in the Irish Franciscan archive (!) a great gold chain, saying that it was to be given to his nearest relative.[43] To demonstrate how strong the contacts were between the Irish homeland and the emigrants even within the Irish community in Prague, let us look here at the fate of that gold chain. As shown from the letter written in 1663 by Clancy's widow, Maria Ursula (née Baroness of Strahlendorf, to the archbishop, Bernardine Clancy entrusted this chain for a certain time to his nephew Daniel ("*de Clancy*"). Daniel gave it to his wife, Maria Ursula, before he left for England. Shortly afterwards, the executor of Jeremiah's will ascertained the fate of the chain, whereupon Maria Ursula had the chain taken away from her and it was returned to the Irish Franciscans (Fig. 4). In the letter, Maria asked for the chain to be returned to her.[44] An undated copy of the letter in English which Daniel O'Donovan of Banelahan, resident in Dublin, sent to the guardian of the Prague college, informing the custodian of the chain of the close relationship of the writer (his own cousin) with Jeremiah O'Donovan and, as his closest relative, identified her as the rightful heir.[45] Daniel O'Donovan sent the letter by the Franciscan, Eugene McCarthy of Munster, to whom he also gave power of attorney in the matter of collecting the chain.[46] Whether the chain was collected or not, we do not know, but a hundred years later no such item is to be found in the list of valuables in the college.

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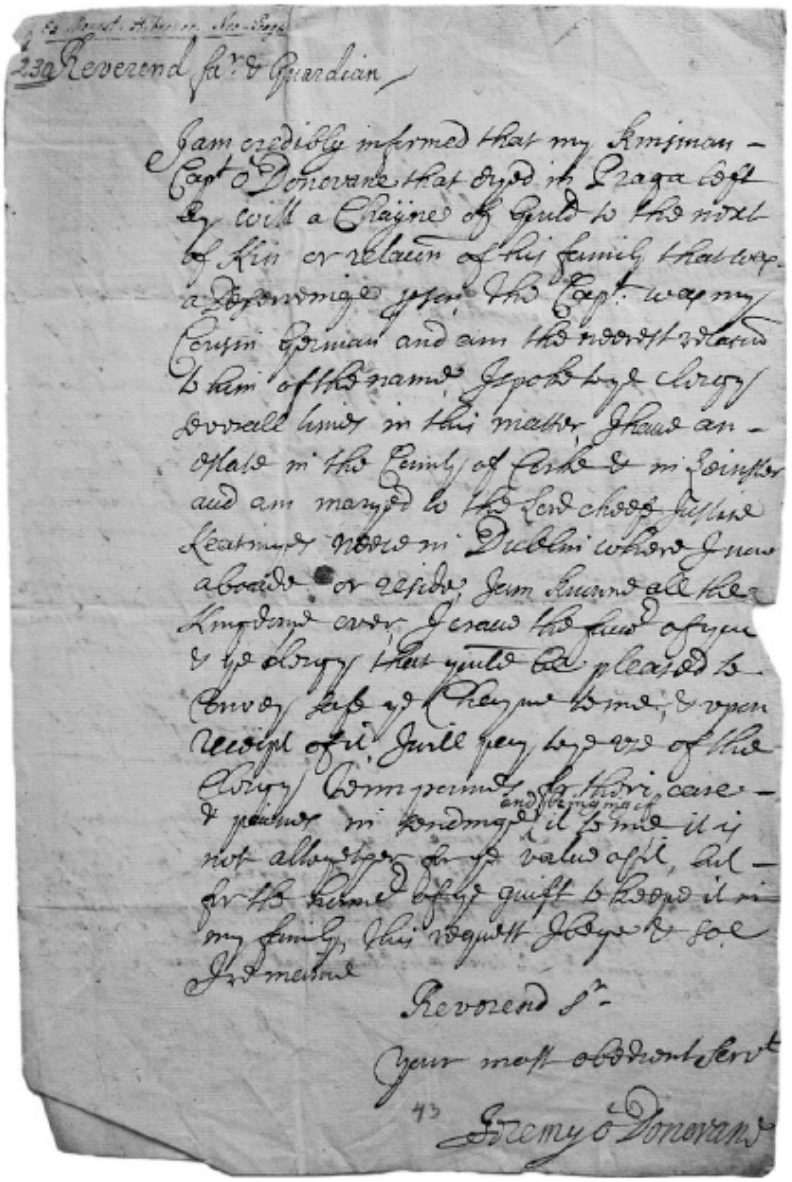

Fig. 4 Jeremy O'Donovan's letter asking for restoration of the golden chain, late 1680s (NA).

As the last written item connected with the wills of the Irish officers from the Irish Franciscan archive we would like to mention an undated extract from the last will of Colonel Geraldin. He bequeathed 3,000 florins to the Irish Franciscans in Prague.[47]

As far as we know, the Kavanagh family, which, in the person of Maurice Kavanagh, senior officer in the Austrian army, had been elevated to the ranks of the Bohemian nobility in 1728, settled in Bohemia in the eighteenth century.[48] In the list of fifty-three Mass endowments of the Irish Franciscan church in Prague from 1787 there is, among several of Irish origin, also a Kavanagh endowment, but we cannot be certain that it originated from this decidedly military family,[49] although we do know that in 1784 the outstanding debts owed to General Kavanagh by the state were passed on to the Irish Franciscans.[50] Ludvík Schmid mentions other Irish soldiers, but we have no information about their links to the Irish Franciscans.[51]

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THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AND DOCTORS

We have mentioned above the relations between the Irish officers in Imperial service and the Irish Franciscan community. Their ties were quite close, in particular at the beginning of the college's existence. Gradually, however, there was a loosening of those ties and we can attribute the waning interest of the officers and nobles in the college in the eighteenth century to the decrease in its importance and the much reduced settlement of Irish nobility in Bohemia. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, there began an influx of Irish students, which understandably increased after the Penal Laws were introduced in Ireland. They were mainly students of medicine, from whose ranks important academic dignitaries of Prague University were recruited over the course of time. Some of them even managed to combine medicine and soldiering, such as the member of another noble family settled in Bohemia, Terence Brady, who was Chief Field Physician of the Imperial Army and who received *incolatus* , i.e. was incorporated into the Bohemian nobility in 1758.[52] A survey of Irish doctors in Bohemia is to be found in the life-long work of Ludvík Schmid.[53] Recently, two exhibitions have been devoted to this theme: *A Bohemian Refuge: Irish Students in Prague in the eighteenth century*[54] in Dublin in the Long Hall of Trinity College Library and *Irové na pražské lékařské fakultě a v českých zemích v 17.–18. století* [*The Irish at Prague's Faculty of Medicine and in the Bohemian Crown Lands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*][55] in the Carolinum in Prague. On the former occasion, the above-mentioned *Migrating Scholars* was published, containing five studies of Czech-Irish relations.

Let us, therefore, at least mention two of the most important Irishmen at the Prague Faculty of Medicine. The first of them was James Smith of Balroe (c. 1695–1744). After studying medicine from 1714 to 1719, he became one of the personal physicians to Charles VI, then in 1726 he became a professor at the faculty, ten years later the dean, and from 1743 to 1744 he was even the rector of the university. This resulted in his elevation to the nobility, along with his brothers, Thomas and Robert. The latter was one of the first directors of Prague's Invalidovna[56] (a veterans' hospital). He was involved (as censor) in the publication of the first Bohemian pharmacopoeia, *Dispensatorium medico-therapeuticum Pragense*.[57] His descendants also entered the medical profession. James Smith himself supported penniless students, especially Irish ones.[58]

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The second important figure of Irish origin at the university was William MacNeven (1719–1787). After graduating in Prague, he became Professor of Medicine at the Faculty of Medicine and personal physician to Empress Maria Theresa. In 1754, he was named the first director of medical studies at the university. In 1750, he had been adopted by his uncle, William MacNeven O'Kelly of Aughrim who lived in Vienna and elevated to the nobility in 1753.[59] During his directorate, the faculty underwent important changes, his approach reflected that of enlightenment science promoted by Gerard van Swieten.

What primarily interests us here, however, is the relationship of the Irish medical students, doctors and university teachers to the college of the Irish Franciscans. The financial situation of all doctors was clearly not as good as that of members of the nobility, so there is less documentation on financial support or pious bequests from the doctors' side. It should also be borne in mind that the academic community, of which the teachers and students of Irish origin were already an integral part, was to a certain degree a comity of a special kind, in which the barriers between nationalities could be easily dissolved and the isolation of the Irish emigrants in Prague could be broken.

We know, however, that the relationship of the Irish clergy with the Irish doctors was just as intense as their relationship with the other groups of emigrants. This is shown, for example, by the fact that, in 1772 in Týn Cathedral, the guardian of the Irish Franciscans, Michael Tipper, gave away Klára, the daughter of the Irish doctor, Silvester O'Hehir, to the doctor, Josef Mikan, [60] or that Marie, the wife of William MacNeven, although she had died in the town of Zruč, was buried in the Irish Franciscan church.[61] The last will, written in German in 1671, of Johanna Plündergastin indicates the complicated interrelations.[62] She wished to be buried in the Irish Franciscan church, to which end she contributed the sum of 100 florins. There were other bequests for the Irish: Plündergastin left twenty Imperial florins to Cornelius Horan, and among the legatees was Edmund Buttler, Count of Clonebough. The will was witnessed by John Duigenan, Master of Philosophy and Candidate of Medicine, famous in the scholarly literature as the first Irishman to be registered at the Faculty of Medicine at Prague University.[63]

In the archive of the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary is the original inheritance inventory from 1714 of the deceased Michael de Boyne, MD. We can only surmise that it was deposited there in connection with a bequest.[64]

Overall it can be said that although the intricate contacts between the Irish Franciscans and the doctors have been demonstrated, their intensity, at least on the financial side, cannot be

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compared with the relationship of the Franciscans to the Irish nobles and soldiers. The solidarity among all the Irish groups in Bohemia was, however, widely known, whether it concerned the said protective hand of the Irish teachers over their compatriot students, scholarships for young Irish soldiers endowed by wealthy officers serving in the Austrian army (O'Brien, Browne, MacCarthy, etc.),[65] or support provided by other aristocrats (Kavanagh and Taaffe) to students of other subjects (theology and law) as shown by the dedications of students defending their university thesis.[66]

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AND OTHER IRISHMEN

Besides the above groups of Irish emigrants, there were other Irish people living in Prague whose relationship to the Irish Franciscans was by all accounts more or less neutral. The best known of these was William MacNeven O'Kelly of Aughrim, the above-mentioned adoptive father of the doctor, William MacNeven. This member of an old Irish aristocratic family left with James II for the Continent in 1690, lived for a time in Prague and then settled in Vienna. He was accepted, in comparison with his fellow Irish soldiers, with relatively open arms by the Bohemian nobility. The reason for this seems to be his heraldic interests. In 1705, he wrote the work *Speculum heraldicum* and, besides this, published several celebratory pieces on aristocratic Bohemian families.[67] He was also named Imperial Palatine (*comes palatinus*) and Privy Counsellor.[68]

Other important figures of Irish origin, about whose relations with the Irish Franciscans we have no further information, were Charles Michael O'Lynch, originally a professor at the Royal Academy in Lignica, Silesia, who later became a professor in the Department of History and Auxiliary Historical Sciences at the Law Faculty about the middle of the eighteenth century,[69] and John Robert Wallis (1636–1683), who taught at the Faculty of Arts and then the Faculty of Theology in Prague, and later at the Faculty of Theology in Olomouc.[70] Equally, we have no more detailed information about the contacts of Peter Wadding, an Irish Jesuit, who was a friend of one of Valdštejn's murderers, Walter Deveroux.[71] We were also unable to document any contacts with the Irish Franciscans by Bernard Farrell of Balligarow, who defended a thesis in not one but two faculties of Prague University and whose Christian name would suggest close contact with the Irish Franciscans.[72]

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However, another Irish priest, Hugh Molloy, maintained close contacts with the college until his death. This is not surprising as he was a secular priest, private chaplain to the provost of the Vyšehrad Chapter, Benno, Count of Martinice. In addition, Molloy was a Franciscan tertiary. In his will dated 1657, he expressed the wish to be buried in the Irish Franciscan church. He also bequeathed the Franciscans table mats, maps and some items for the infirmary. He left his personal effects to the Franciscan, Edmund MacGranna as well as twenty florins to the above-mentioned Edmund O'Kennedy. The Franciscan Francis Magennis was entrusted with the settlement of the will.[73]

Thus, the Irish Franciscan college also acted somewhat as an intermediary between the various members of the Irish community in Bohemia. For instance, in 1676, through the Irish Franciscans, Elisabeth Farrell collected fifty florins which she had received from Francis Taaffe, Count of Carlingford, Viscount of Corin, Baronet of Ballymote, Imperial Chamberlain and senior commander of the Imperial Lorraine Regiment.[74] When John Louis O'Devlin, a soldier in the Austrian army wrote his last will in 1729, he left fifty florins for de la Motte of Sicherhoff which were saved at the Irish Franciscan college in Prague. He also bequeathed one thousand florins to the college for Masses and prayers.[75] We can also find written evidence of other Irish, for example, a letter of discharge which Otto Christoph von Dittlen drew up for the Irishman Thaddeus Edmond Chasy.[76] In Tesmar in Lower Hungary, Count John Taaffe, the Captain of Kavanagh's Regiment of Dragoons, had another document drawn up for the recruiting clerk (*Musterschreiber*), John Tongan, born near Dublin. This discharge paper released the latter from service and made him a free man.[77] The explanation offered is entry into the Prague college of the Irish Franciscans; however, we have been unable to find proof that these two men did in fact become members of the college. Similarly, there is a passport drawn up by Ferdinand III for Denis Kavanagh's journey to Ireland.[78]

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AND THE NOBILITY

Relationships between the local nobility and the Irish Franciscans were quite extensive. From as early as 1640, the last will of Gerhard, Baronet of Wachtendung, has been preserved. Although

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this nobleman wished his body to be buried in the Irish church "*sine magna pompa atque apparatu*"[79], at the same time he left the not insignificant sum of 2,000 Imperial florins for the funeral and the prayers.[80]

In 1672, Maria Mechtilde de Dieten, née de Bois, made a will. This was of particular interest to the Irish Franciscans for several reasons. First of all, she expressed the wish to be buried in the Irish Franciscan church by her husband in the Chapel of the Virgin Mary which she had had built at her own expense. She bestowed 600 florins on the Irish Franciscans for Masses, the money to be paid from the income of her estate.[81] She also had an eternal lamp installed in the same chapel, bequeathed 400 florins for the lamp and the oil, and gave the chapel a white chasuble. She also endowed the church foundation with 1,000 florins for a High Mass on the anniversary of her death.

Finally, she left the Seminary of St. Wenceslas 100 florins on condition that Bernard Connor would be supported in his studies for five years or, in the event of his death, his brother. She also bequeathed Bernard Connor fifty florins for clothing.

In 1679, the guardian of the college, Thaddeus Fallon, issued a receipt that he had received 1,000 florins as money for the endowment with a return of sixty florins over two years from Kateřina, the widowed Countess of Martinice.[82] The activity here was almost entirely on her side: when the college was dissolved, there were fifty-three Mass endowments. As far as we can tell, of these only six had been established by Irishmen (O'Byrn, O'Farrell, Kavanagh, Plunkett, Hamilton and Taaffe).

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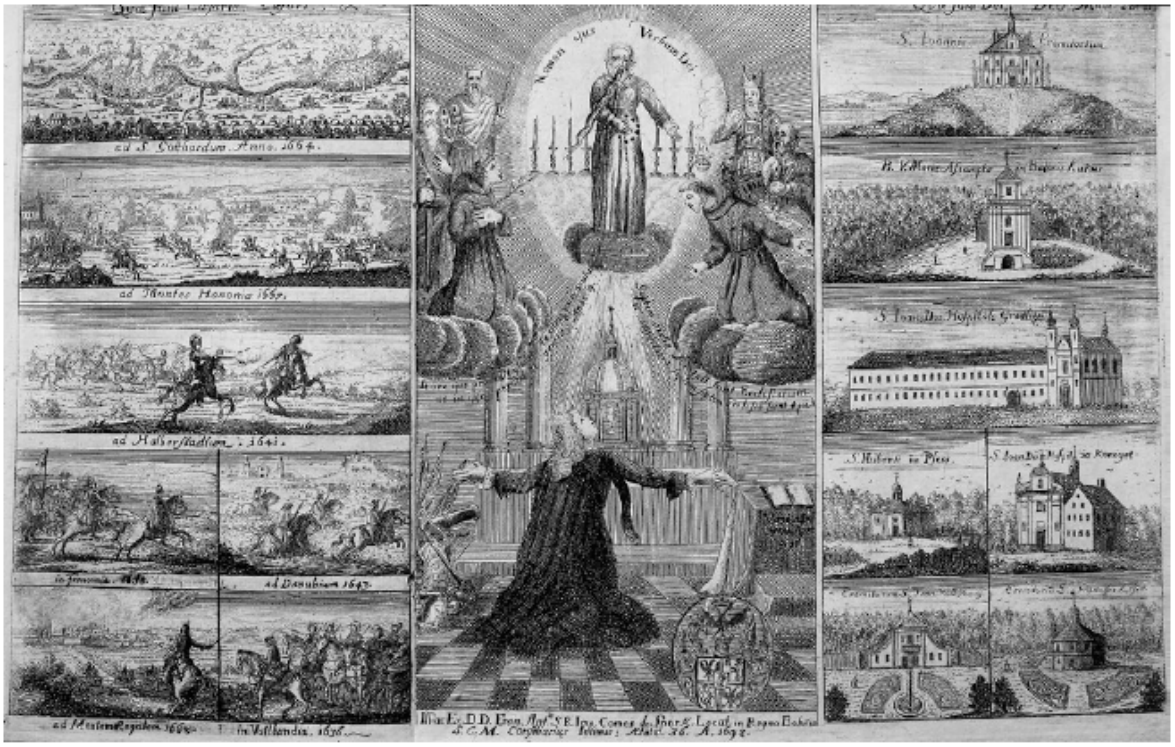

Fig. 5 Franz Anton, Count Sporck with a depiction of his own architectural foundations as well as his father's military victories. A copperplate from *Gladius spiritus*, a book by Francis O'Devlin, Prague 1698 (SK).

Let us introduce at least one example from a later date: in 1747, a certain von Gastheim devoted to the Irish Franciscans the income from his Vršovice annuities for the brewing of beer. [83]

Pavel Preiss has already written about the relations between Count Sporck and the Irish Franciscans.[84] When Franz Anton, Count Sporck was studying at the Jesuit school, the Irish Franciscan Francis O'Devlin acted as his tutor. Preiss connects some of Sporck's ideas and attitudes with the Scotist interpretations of the Irish Franciscan circle. In addition, we know that Sporck's patronage was aimed at the Irish Franciscan college, as is evidenced not only by the printed thesis of Louis Ryan from 1698 (Fig. 5) with a dedication to F. A. Sporck[85] but also by the dedication to the four Sporck brothers in the introduction to O'Devlin's 1710 work, *Philosophia scoto-aristotelica*.[86] Doubtless the fact that the Sporck palace and the College of the Immaculate Conception were neighbours played a role; indeed, in 1699, the palace and the oratory of the church were joined by a suspension corridor.[87] One of the witnesses who signed the contract for the installation of this corridor was Václav Vojtěch, Count of Šternberk, who was a spiritual father (*geistlicher Vater*) – or officially the apostolic syndic of the convent. Two years later, he was involved in the creation of the college library and later even a part of his private book collection ended up there.[88] The Šternberk family had generally close contacts

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with the Irish community in Prague, the above-mentioned William MacNeven O'Kelly dedicated the detailed, celebratory publication *Chrám slávy*[89] to the family, and the most famous Prague Scotist, Anthony Bruodin, dedicated his work *Propugnaculum catholicae veritatis* to them as a New Year gift for 1669.

Preiss mentions the almost fashionable character of the Irish Franciscan college and corroborates this with reference to the nobility's endowments during the refurbishment of the church. Members of the leading families of the Bohemian nobility commissioned pictures from Karel Škréta for the chapels in the Irish church which they had founded: in particular, the brothers Jan Norbert, Václav Vojtěch and Ignác Karel, Counts of Šternberk for the Chapel of St. Francis and its altar (the altarpiece *The Stigmatisation of St. Francis*,[90] *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, *St. Anthony of Padua* and *The Crucifixion*).[91] Possibly at the wish of Johann Anton, Count Losy of Losinthal, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary* appeared on the main altar.[92] Also, the Vyšehrad provost, Benno, Count of Martinice, had the main altar furnished and columns installed in the church and chapel. Among others who participated in the building, decoration and furnishing of the church were the above-mentioned Franz Anton, Count Sporck, Jan of Talmberk the Elder, Vilém Václav František Michna of Vacínov and Humprecht Jan, Count Černín of Chudenice.[93]

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Fig. 6 A true image of St. Peter of Alcantara dedicated to Zuzana Polyxena, countess of Martinice by Anthony Bruodin. Engraving by Daniel Wussin, Prague after 1669 (SK).

The leading Bohemian aristocrats' patronage of the Irish Franciscan college and generally their close relationship to its members is evidenced by three other facts: the dedications of authors from the Irish Franciscan intellectual circle to the Bohemian nobles as patrons, the support of Irish students of theology by the Bohemian nobility, and that the Irish Franciscans acted as domestic tutors to young aristocrats.

With regard to the first instance, we might mention in particular the writings of Anthony Bruodin (Fig. 6). In 1663, he dedicated his *Oecodonomia* to Ferdinand Vilém, Count Slavata, the above-mentioned *Propugnaculum* (1669) to the Šternberk family, his hagiography of St. Pedro de Alcántara (1669) to Humprecht Jan, Count Černín of Chudenice, and *Armamentarium* (1676) to Jan Jáchym, Count Slavata, and to Ernst Josef, Count of Valdštejn. William MacNeven O'Kelly dedicated to the Hrzán of Harasov family the whole of his celebratory work *Rubra domus* (1700), as well as his *Philosophia aulica* (1700). His description of Ireland,

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published three years later in Vienna, he dedicated to the two brothers, Jiří Adam and Maxmilián, Counts of Martinice. O'Devlin's dedication to Sporck has already been dealt with.

Among the abundant examples of printed theses by Irish students there are many inscriptions to Bohemian aristocrats, by which the defenders thanked them as patrons. Here we can find dedications to Jan Kryštof Kager, Count of Štampach (1723), Václav Kašpar Bechyně of Lažany (1727), Josef František, Count of Vrbno (1732), Joachim Joseph, Count Des Fours (1735), František Michael Bořita, Count of Martinice (1736), Václav Josef Údrčský of Údrč (1738), Jan Ludvík, Count of Žerotín (1741), Josef Jáchym Vančura of Řehnice (1752) and Joseph Wilhelm, Count of Nostitz (1756).[94]

The tutoring by Francis O'Devlin at Count Sporck's has already been referred to. That this was no accident in the case of the later guardian is also evidenced by the list of friars drawn up about 12 September 1786, that is, when the college was being dissolved. Of thirty-seven brothers, three were working as tutors or chaplains in aristocratic families.[95] The question of the tuition of exceptional students is connected to the fact that these students defended their theses in the Irish college: one example might be the preserved printed thesis of such a disputation, where the defender was František Ferdinand Gorgonius, Count Novohradský of Kolovraty.[96]

The close relations between the Irish Franciscans and Bohemian aristocratic families is also documented by the certificate of authenticity for the lock of hair of the Virgin Mary and the fragments of bone of the apostles, James the Great and James the Less, which the guardian, Patrick O'Kelly, had drawn up in 1727 for Juliana, Countess Malovcová.[97] That the Irish Franciscan church was still popular with the nobility at the beginning of the eighteenth century is evidenced by the fact that it still served as a place of burial.[98]

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS AND THEIR PRAGUE NEIGHBOURS

The subject about which there is the least information is the relationship of the inhabitants of the Prague towns, in particular the New Town, with the Irish Franciscans. This appears to be because the Irish Franciscans did not have their own parish, since they were not allowed to run a parish in Europe,[99] and, apart from some later exceptions, they were not allowed to collect alms. The language barrier also played a role: the newly arrived Irish in particular did not speak Czech, at best they spoke German. Otherwise, of course, the linguistic potential of these, to

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some extent, world travellers was very good, as shown by the two lists of confessors published by Benignus Millett.

Immediately after their arrival in Prague, the Irish Franciscans gained little sympathy with the compulsory purchase of the houses adjacent to the half-demolished Church of St. Ambrose.[100] Later, their newly built church created a fairly exclusive impression and served in particular the needs of certain aristocratic circles and some of their own countrymen.

There are only two items from the Irish Franciscan archive which illustrate their general coexistence with their neighbours. The first, which is difficult to date, comes from the period 1637 to 1657. It is a copy of a complaint, written in Czech, from the Irish Franciscan college and its guardian, addressed to the royal officials which claimed that Philip, Count Magni had assumed the right to forbid them to build a higher wall but himself wanted *"to break through it for windows looking into the college and our garden* [!] *and some building done to our detriment."* How the matter ended, we do not know.[101] The second item is a police matter and concerns fire regulations. In 1691, the captain (the official with police competence) of Prague's New Town admonished the Irish Franciscans in Czech and warned them, after a shed had burnt down, to be more watchful and to be careful with fires.[102]

We can mention at least the wills which were made in favour of the Irish Franciscans by two women who, we may assume, were from Prague, or were at least Bohemian townswomen. In the first will, written in German in Brandýs nad Labem in 1679, Anna Marie Kratochvílová left the Irish friars thirty florins for Masses.[103] In the second will, a year later, on her estate two miles from Prague, Anna Polexina M. Palečková bequeathed 2,000 florins for statues of Jesus, Mary, Joseph and St. Anne to be erected on the altar of the church, with St. Anne to be on the top of the altar, flanked by St. Barbara and St. Polexina.[104]

Initially, relations with the Franciscans of the Bohemian province were good. After their arrival in Prague, the Irish friars stayed at the Friary of Our Lady of the Snows and assisted with the teaching of philosophy and theology there. Louis Cooney took part in the renewal of theological studies. The Bohemian province assisted the Irish Franciscan college when they had internal problems. As will be described below in more detail, in the 1650s, friars who had had to leave their own houses temporarily due to internal disputes lived there. Apart from such temporary departures, there were also transfers from the Irish to the Bohemian province, which were most likely regarded as permanent (although circumstances forced Anthony Bruodin to return to the Irish friars – and which were indisputably enriching for the Bohemian province.

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Friendly relations ended when open rivalry began, but this problem between the Franciscans of the Irish and Bohemian provinces only became acute once, when the Irish friars attempted to establish a house in Namslav in Silesia. The local Franciscans took this as a dangerous precedent and resisted the enterprise with such determination that no such attempts were made again from the Irish side. Admittedly, the dispute about precedence in public processions dragged on for many years, but it never became open antagonism.[105] Written sources refer to problems rather than to mutually good relations and, with regard to the lack of material referring to problems, it is possible to assume that good relations prevailed.

Relationships with other orders were clearly more intensive, when the Irish friars were teaching at the archiepiscopal seminary and were in daily contact with their colleagues from the houses of other orders. They also assisted in the teaching of theology for other orders, as is illustrated by Bernardine Higgins, who taught for thirteen years in the Cistercian monastery in Plasy and James Coghlan who taught the Benedictines in Kladruby. These contacts extended even beyond the borders of the Bohemian Crown Lands, because Peter Marian Murry and Francis O'Devlin taught in the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen in Bavaria.[106] A certain bitterness was caused by the circumstances surrounding the departure of Irish friars from the seminary and their attempts to return. The friars were among the popular preachers at the two great festivals of the Irish community: on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, it was mainly Jesuits, Minorites, Augustinians, Premonstratensians and Piarists who preached; on the feast of St. Patrick the preachers included Premonstratensians, Dominicans, Minorites, Piarists and Carmelites. Secular priests were also invited to these occasions, often those who were involved with the archiepiscopal seminary.[107] Of the numerous sermons, one that is particularly worth mentioning (for its author rather than its content) is the panegyric to St. Patrick delivered in 1751 in the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by Gelasius Dobner (1719–1790), a Piarist and the first modern historian of Bohemia.[108]

With relation to parish administration, there sometimes arose disputes over jurisdiction, that is, the Irish friars tended to appropriate rights which were not theirs. In 1643, Ambrose Barducius, Carmelite and administrator of the Parish of St. Gall, conducted a dispute before the consistory because, without his knowledge and against his will, they had buried the Irish Captain William Farrell, a parishioner of St. Gall's, in their own church.[109] In 1712, a request

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that the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi take place within the walls of the college was taken as a violation of local custom. Matěj Václav Jelínek, curate of the Parish of St. Henry, stated that no other monastery in Prague did such a thing.[110]

It is clear that the relations of the Irish Franciscans to the Bohemian Franciscans of Our Lady of the Snows were close even in the period of the dissolution of the college. At that time, two lay brothers moved to the Bohemian friary.[111]

To conclude, we will add one interesting detail. Attached to the Irish college was a garden where they grew potatoes, which had up until that time been regarded in Bohemia as ornamental plants.[112]

These were the relations which connected the Irish community in Bohemia with the local inhabitants at all social levels and those which prevailed amongst themselves. From the above, it is clear that there always existed, in its own way, a closed world, and evidently not even a deep Christian feeling could conceal the original Celtic tribal archetypes with all their negative (frequent disputes) and positive (solidarity) features.

It is possible to follow the overall development of the relations of the Irish college to its surroundings, from the strong original links of the first generation of Irish officers and soldiers of fortune and support from the Emperor, the Archbishop of Prague and the Catholic wing of the Bohemian nobility, through the gradual loosening of ties, especially on the part of the head of state and the head of the Church in Bohemia, to the gradual extinction of a community isolated from the world outside because of the impossibility of teaching in the archiepiscopal seminary. It was precisely at that time that two of the college's greatest patrons, Count Sporck and Count Šternberk, decided to support it and by their patronage elevated the Irish friars to an exceptional position, that of tutors in aristocratic families. They continued to maintain relations with their fellow countrymen, in particular, doctors and soldiers from families settled in the monarchy, though more in terms of social life than that of financial support.

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1 For an extensive but not exhaustive list, see Ludvík Schmid, "Irská emigrace do střední Evropy v 17. a 18. století" [Irish Emigration to Central Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *SH* 32 (1985): 189–254; *SH* 33 (1986): 247–293.

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2 Walter Buttler of Ballinakill Castle, Roscrea belonged to the Butler family – the Earls of Ormond. His life, piety and charity were mentioned as early as 1639 by Thomas Carve in *Itinerarium R. D. Thomae Carve Tripperariensis . . . cum Historia facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly & aliorum*. . ., Moguntiae 1639 (SK, EV VII 64), especially pages 57–59.

3 Josef Janáček, *Valdštejnova smrt* [*The Death of Valdštejn*] (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1970); 315 gives an incorrect first name, Walter.

4 See Tomáš Bílek, *Dějiny konfiskací v Čechách po r. 1618. Část druhá* [*The History of Confiscations in Bohemia after 1618. Second Part*] (Praha: František Řivnáč 1883) 762.

5 *Die Wappen des böhmischen Adels. J. Siebmacher's grosses Wappenbuch. Band 30* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch: Bauer und Raspe, 1979) 110 + table 59. (Further quoted as *Siebmacher*).

6 Miroslav Baroch and Ludvík Schmid, "Irská a skotská emigrace do střední Evropy" [Irish and Scottish Emigration to Central Europe], *Heraldická minucí* 1987–88 (1988): 16–17.

7 Ibid., 12–13.

8 Ibid., 46–47.

9 Ibid., 34–35.

10 Ibid., 32–33.

11 Ibid., 48–49.

12 *Siebmacher*, 58–59 + table 41.

13 Baroch and Schmid, "Irská a skotská emigrace do střední Evropy," 26–27.

14 *Siebmacher*, 145–146 + table 68. Michael Adam Franck von Franckenstein wrote a genealogical work on the family, *Origines Magawlyanae*, Pragae 1736 (SK, AO II 26). The Irish Franciscan and theologian James Griffin participated as editor. See Miroslav Baroch, "Magawly Cerati," *HaG* 16.4 (1983): 220–226.

15 Baroch and Schmid, "Irská a skotská emigrace do střední Evropy," 40–41.

16 Ibid., 44–45.

17 *Siebmacher*, 129 + table 64.

18 Ibid., 153 + table 70.

19 Ibid., 96 + table 55.

20 Ibid., 186 + table 79.

21 Ibid., 175–176 + table 77.

22 Miroslav Baroch and Ludvík Schmid, "Rod O'Hegerty" [The O'Hegerty Family], *HaG* 23.1 (1990): 3–16.

23 Maxmilian Ulysses Browne, Baronet of Camus and Mountany, was fatally wounded in the battle with the Saxons near Prague in 1757, see Miroslav Baroch, "Irové v Čechách" [Irishmen in Bohemia], *HaG* 16.3 (1983): 188–190.

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24 Schmid, “Irská emigrace do střední Evropy,” 194, lists the houses of Browne, Ennis, MacCaffry, O’ Donell, Taaffe and Wallis. The links of these houses with Ireland were, however, strong even centuries later. For example, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Taaffes built a romantic imitation of their old manor in Ballymote on their estate in Nalžovy, Bohemia. Edward Taaffe became prime minister in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In the 1930s, the last member of the house emigrated back to Ireland.

25 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 18, 23.1.1635, Visenstecke? The will of Edmund Burke (Boorke) [de Burgo]. As his Colonel, he mentions Walter Deveroux and Captain Denis MacDaniel and, amongst other friends, Buttler, Stephenson, Purcell and Geraldin. To compare the value of money bequeathed with present currency is virtually impossible. To give a general idea how much it was worth, annual living expenses for one who studied at the archiepiscopal seminary were 93 florins and 20 kreuzers. One thaler was approximately two florins.

26 Ibid., “Item quod mihi imperator propter servitium Egraneum largitus est, inter colonellos Gal, Deverox et Geraldinum aequaliter distribuendum reliquo sub hac tamen conditione, si id aequisiverint collegio Pragensi duo millia florenorum solvant, et tria millia florenorum vexillifero meo Joanni Casey.” [Item, what the Emperor owes me for my service in Cheb I bequeath to be distributed evenly among Colonels Gal, Deveroux and Geraldin on the condition that they pay two thousand florins to the Prague college. . .].

27 Ibid., nos. 31, 32, 28.12.1639, Praha. The will of Walter Deveroux.

28 Brendan Jennings ed., *Documents of the Irish Franciscans College at Prague. I*, Archivium Hibernicum or Irish Historical Records. Volume IX, Maynooth 1942, 171–294. On the front page and in the contents of the volume it is quoted incorrectly *Irish Franciscan Documents: Prague, I*, (further quoted as *IFD*). See no. 76, 10.1635, Praha. Gerald Geraldin tells Luke Wadding, amongst other things, that “our noble patron Coronell [!] Walter Butler . . . die in the land of Vittemberg uppon Christmas holidayes. . .,” after being ill for 11 days.

29 Ibid., no. 34, 10.5.1641, Opava. The will of Richard Buttler. Ibid., no. 38. There is the last will of Richard Buttler dated 21 November 1642 in Prague. In it he identifies himself as Captain (*Haubtmann*). The will was witnessed by Jeremiah O’Donovan who will be mentioned later.

30 Ibid., no. 65, 15.4.1653, Regensburg. Power of Attorney for Fr. Edmund O’Kennedy from Thomas Theobald Buttler. For more about the Buttlers, see Schmid, “Irská emigrace do střední Evropy,” 207–209.

31 Ibid., no. 55, 1.8.1650, Praha. Johann Hartwig, Count Nostitz in Falknov, etc. as curator confirmed that the Irish Franciscans by St. Ambrose had received a donation of 100 florins from Countess Anne Mary Buttler.

32 Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans 1651–1665* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1964) 147.

33 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 119. 22.11.1674, Wien. The will of Edmund O’Kennedy, an apostolic protonotary and court chaplain at the Imperial court Further, from Edmund Buttler’s 2,000 florins debt, he ordered 300 florins to be paid to the Irish Franciscans without delay and from the remaining debt of 1,000 florins, when the money was available, 600 florins would again be paid to the Irish Franciscans “and to my brother’s grandson, Thaddeus O’Kennedy, 400 florins.”

34 Ibid., no. 120, 9.1.1675, [Wien]. The Augustinian, Marek Forstall, announced to the Irish Franciscans that Edmund O’Kennedy had died.

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35 Jan Florian Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, Vetero-Pragae 1717, 302. This information has not been confirmed by any other sources or literature.

36 Possibly it refers to Baronet James Buttler, who died in 1634 as a high-ranking officer in the battle of Schorndorf, although it could also be James Christian Buttler, commander and owner of a regiment established in 1630, with headquarters in Silesia, see Schmid, "Irská emigrace [Irish Emigration]", 208.

37 *Clarissima singularisque totius philosophie necnon methaphisice Aristotelis magistri Petri Tatareti expositio*, [Lyon] 1503, SK, JB III 36. Translation of the note: "For the use of the Hibernian friars of the Prague college by way of donation from the most illustrious Sir Jacob Butler, Irishman, 1632."

38 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 70, 30.9.1653, Praha. The will of commander John de Barry.

39 Ibid., nos. 66, 67, 68, 11.9.1653. Jinočany (?). The will of Jeremiah O'Donovan. No. 66 is a German version, no. 67 a Latin excerpt and no. 68 a Latin version.

40 In the Latin version *privignus*, in the German one *Stieffsohn*; see Schmid, "Irská emigrace [Irish Emigration]", 260, introduces him as early as 1653 as a burgher of Prague's Lesser Town.

41 The members in question were Robert and another called in the document "Heraldus," possibly a younger member of the family.

42 Mentioned as a field captain (*capitaneus campestris*).

43 "Catenam auream magnam in archivio reverendorum patrum Hybernorum deponendam ordinat et constituit illustrissimo domino domino O'Donovan ipsi data occasione dandam aut transmitendam."

44 NA, APA, carton no. 2100.

45 NA, ŘHyb Praha, s.a., s.1., unnumbered. A letter from Daniel O'Donovan to the guardian of the Prague college of the Irish Franciscans. His origin, discussed also with Brother Farrell, and his claim is mentioned at the beginning of the text: "I am credibly informed that my kinsman capt. O'Donovane that dyed in Praga left by will a chayne of guld to the next of kin or relative of his family that was a defending of him. The capt. was my cousine german and am the neerest relative to him of the name. I spoke bye clergy Farrell linies in this matter. I have an estate in the County of Corke & in Leinster and am maryed to the Lae [?] chief justise Keatinges neew in Dublin where I now aboarde or reside. . ."

46 Ibid., no. 136, 11.6.1687, Ireland? Daniel O'Donovan alias Donovan of Banelahan in the County of Cork, empowered the Franciscan, Eugene McCarthy from the province of Munster, to collect a golden chain which had been kept for him, as the chief of the family, in the Prague College of the Irish Franciscans ("Chief of the family of the Donovans").

47 Ibid., no. 214.

48 *Siebmacher*, 129 + table 64.

49 NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1786-7, carton no. 2729, 5.8.1787. List of Mass endowments.

50 Schmid and Polišenský, "Irové ve střední Evropě a Universita Karlova" [The Irish in Central Europe and Charles University], *AUC-HUCP* 16.2 (1976): 53–66.

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51 Ludvík Schmid, "Robert Smith Mac Gavan of Balroe, Commander of the Invalid's [sic] House in Prague," *The Irish Sword* 14.56 (1981): 256–257; ibid., "Robert Smith Mac Gavan of Balroe, velitel pražské invalidovny" [Robert Smith Mac Gavan of Balroe, Commander of the Veterans' Hospital in Prague], *Vojenské zdravotnické listy* 51 (1982): 154–155; ibid.: "Irští námořníci v rakouských službách" [Irish Sailors in Austrian Service], *HaG* 25.2 (1992): 133–140.

52 *Siebmacher*, 55 + table 60.

53 It is not only the above-mentioned "Irská emigrace," but mainly his key work *Irští lékaři v Čechách* [*Irish Doctors in Bohemia*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1968); also the already quoted article published with J. Polišenský, "Irové ve střední Evropě a Universita Karlova" and the lesser works: "Irish Doctors in Bohemia," *Irish Journal of Medical Science* 1 (1968): 497–504; "Irský lékař Eugen Mac Mahon v Českých Budějovicích" [The Irish Doctor Eugen Mac Mahon in České Budějovice], *JSH* 38 (1969): 15–19; "Jacobus Smith de Balroe," *Časopis lékařů českých* 108 (1969): 928–931; "Wilhelm Mac Neven O'Kelly ab Aughrim, profesor lékařské fakulty pražské university" [William MacNeven O'Kelly of Aughrim, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine at Prague University], *Zprávy Archivu UK* 2 (1977): 4–30; "Irští lékaři a naše lázně" [Irish Doctors and our Spas], *Fyziatricko-reumatologický věstník* 56 (1978): 179–183; "Lékařská rodina O'Hehirů v Praze" [The O'Hehir Family of Doctors in Prague], *Zprávy Archivu UK* 3 (1980): 85–90; "Theobald Held a potomci irských emigrantů v Praze" [Theobald Held and the Descendants of Irish Emigrants in Prague], *Praktický lékař* 62 (1982): 61–63; "Ke vzniku Komenského Ianua linguarum" [On the Creation of Comenius's Ianua linguarum], *Studia Comeniana et historica* 14.27 (1984): 65–69; "Invalidovna" [The Veterans' Hospital], *Praktický lékař* 67 (1987): 277–278; articles, published with Miroslav Baroch: "Rod Leslie" [The Leslie Family] and "Rod O'Hegerty" in *HaG* 22.2 (1989) and 23.1 (1990). Apart from Schmid's articles, it is also possible to mention an article by Karel Pletzer, "Irští lékaři Daniel O'Karin a Eugen Mac Mahon v Českých Budějovicích" [The Irish Doctors Daniel O'Karin and Eugen Mac Mahon in České Budějovice], *Kulturní kalendář* (November 1975): 26–27.

54 The exhibition took place from December 1997 to May 1998. An explanatory text (not a catalogue) by Prof. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein related to the exhibition was published in 1997.

55 Zdeněk Kalvach and Jan Pařez, *Irové na pražské lékařské fakultě a v českých zemích v 17.–18. století. Katalog výstavy v Karolinu 25.9. – 16.10.1998* [*The Irish at Prague's Faculty of Medicine and in the Czech Lands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Carolinum, 25 September to 16 October 1998*], Praha: Strahovská knihovna, 1998.

56 See Schmid, "Robert Smith Mac Gavan of Balroe."

57 *Dispensatorium medico-therapeuticum Pragense*, Vetero-Pragae 1739, SK, CY I 26.

58 The protection provided by director MacNeven to his countrymen during their studies at the university became a reason for the criticism of him, see Polišenský and Schmid, "Irové ve střední Evropě a Universita Karlova," 64.

59 See *Siebmacher*, 78 + table 48.

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60 Schmid, “Lékařská rodina O’Hehirů,” 85ff. Although Klara was half Czech, not to mention Mikan, this was done because the Irish Franciscans did not have their own parish, so that the guardian, Tipper, had to be asked to conduct the ceremony in Týn.

61 Schmid, *Irští lékaři v Čechách*, 31. William MacNeven himself was buried elsewhere because the Irish Franciscan college had been dissolved.

62 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 107, 23.2.1671, The will of Johanna Plündergastin. Her contacts made us think that her surname was in reality Irish and the correct spelling was Pendergast.

63 Polišenský and Schmid, “Irové ve střední Evropě a Universita Karlova,” 59. John Duigenan from Leitrim enrolled on 21.2.1668.

64 NA, ŘHyb Praha, nos. 149 (Latin) and 150 (German), 27.3.1714, Praha. Inventory of Dr. Michael de Boyne’s estate. Published in Czech by Schmid, *Irští lékaři v Čechách*, 40–42.

65 Polišenský and Schmid, “Irové ve střední Evropě a Universita Karlova,” 64.

66 See the dedication by the chairman, O’Brien to Thomas Kavanagh, Baron of Elleringstown, in *Theses ex universa philosophia, ad mentem Doctoris subtilis . . . quas praeside P. F. Antonio ô Brien . . . Defendendas susceperunt P.F. Stephanus Wyse, F. Eugenius Hanly, ejusdem religionis, collegii, et nationis alumni*, Vetero-Pragae 1750, SK, AF XIV 99; the dedication by a law student who was “ex comitatu Longfordiae Hibernus” to Count Theobald Taaffe in [Farrellus de Balligarow, B.:] *Theses canonico-civiles de jure-jurando*, Pragae 1666, SK, CK V 21/21.

67 See Hedvika Kuchařová and Jan Pařez, “On the trail of Irish émigrés in the collections of the Strahov Abbey Library in Prague,” *The Ulster Earls and Baroque Europe. Refashioning Irish Identities, 1600–1800*, eds. Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010) 212–213.

68 *Siebmacher*, 78.

69 I. Čornejová ed., *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy II, 1622–1802* [*The History of Charles University II, 1622–1802*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1996) 101, 143–144.

70 Ivana Čornejová and Anna Fechtnerová, *Životopisný slovník pražské univerzity. Filosofická a theologická fakulta 1654–1773* [*A Bibliographic Dictionary of Prague University: Philosophical and Theological Faculties 1654–1773*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1986). In 1664, he graduated in theology, see Josef Tříška, *Disertace pražské univerzity 16.–18. století* [*The Dissertations of Prague University in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*] (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1977) 40.

71 As will be noted later in the text, Peter Wadding was a relative of Luke Wadding and his source of information about the Prague environment. His relation to the Franciscans was very positive and some of them were certainly his friends; however, there are no detailed reports.

72 Tříška, *Disertace pražské university*, 42 (*Theses canonico-civiles de iure iurando . . . 1666*), 46 (*Theses iuridicae canonico-civiles de contractibus et quasi . . . 1670*).

73 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 76, 19.2.1657, Praha. The will of Hugh Molloy. He possibly had relatives there; he bequeathed a clock which did not chime and a ring to Mr Arthur Molloy and his brother Charles.

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74 Ibid., no. 123, 13.4.1676, Praha. However, the Irish Franciscans also provided similar services to the Bohemians, as witnessed in ibid., nos. 101, 102 and 103, 7.9.1667, Prague. The surviving relatives of Kryštof, Baronet Karel of Svárov, i.e. Kryštof Karel of Svárov (3/4) and Anna Ekerstorffová (1/4), represented by Ignác Tan, requested back from the Irish Franciscans the box with the inheritance, including an inventory, which had been left by the baronet.

75 Anselm Ó Fachtna, "The last will of John Louis O Devlin (1729)," *Journal of the South Derry Historical Society*, 1.4 (1983–84): 348–356.

76 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 85, 13.2.1660, Praha.

77 Ibid., no. 128, 30.10.1679, Tesmar, Lower Hungary.

78 Ibid., no. 49, 3.8.1650, Wien.

79 "Without great pomp or preparations."

80 Ibid., no. 33, 17.1.1640, Praha.

81 Ibid., no. 112, 20.7.1672, Praha. On the de Bois family, see Olga Fejtová, "Zahraniční literatura v měšťanských knihovnách na Novém Městě pražském v 17. století. Knihovna rodiny de Bois" [Foreign Literature in the Libraries of the Burghers in Prague's New Town in the Seventeenth Century. The Library of the de Bois Family], *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven*, ed. J. Radimská, (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2000) 323–337. In the copy of the last will, the names are distorted into de Ditting and de Boye.

82 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 126, 8.3.1679, Praha.

83 Ibid., no. 163, 12.1.1747, Bechyně.

84 Pavel Preiss, *František Antonín Špork a barokní kultura v Čechách* [*Franz Anton Sporck and Baroque Culture in Bohemia*] (Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2003) 136.

85 *Gladius spiritus quod est Verbum Dei scriptum et traditum in septem controversiis, cum septem thesibus . . . praeside R.P.F. Francisco ô Devlin, ord: min: strict: observ: SS. Theologiae ac Verbi Dei lectore. Defendendum assumpsit P.F. Ludovicus Ryan ejusdem ord: et nationis*, Vetero-Pragae 1698. SK, BCh IX 65.

86 *Philosophia Scoto-Aristotelico universa . . . authore P. F. Francisco ô Devlin, . . . Tomus primus logicam et physicam complectens*, Norimbergae 1710. SK, AF XII 2.

87 NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1786-7, carton no. 2729. A copy of the agreement dated 4.5.1699 between Franz Anton, Count Sporck and the Irish Franciscans about the building alterations is added to the material from 9.9.1786 in which Johann Franz, Count of Sweerts-Sporck, talks about the "Hibernian infirmary" (*Krankenhaus*), a room inside it and the oratory of the church with a corridor.

88 The editions of some documents are in Alžběta Birnbaumová, "Příspěvky k dějinám umění XVII. stol. z archivu Šternbersko-Manderscheidského" [Contributions to the History of the Art of the Seventeenth Century from the Šternberk-Manderscheid Archive], *PA* 34 (1925): 496ff.; for the history of the library, see Kevin

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MacGrath, "The Irish Franciscan Library at Prague," *Franciscan College Annual 1951*, (Multyfarnham 1951). For the fate of two books from the of Šternberk library which appeared in the college library, see Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés," 195.

89 *Templum gloriae in monte stellari extructum et . . . familiae Sternbergicae consecratum*. . ., Neo-Pragae, 1697. SK, AB VIII 44/43, BP VI 51/79, BQ II 189/5.

90 Jaromír Neumann et al., *Karel Škréta 1610–1674. Katalog výstavy NG v Praze* [*Karel Škréta 1610–1674. Catalogue of the Exhibition in the National Gallery in Prague*] (Praha: Národní galerie, 1974) 259ff.; Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, 303.

91 Neumann, *Karel Škréta*, 109–112, 218ff.

92 Ibid., 220.

93 Hammerschmid, *Prodromus gloriae Pragenae*, 220ff.

94 More detailed information about some of the documents and theses in the last two paragraphs can be found later in the text; their precise bibliographical citations are provided in Kuchařová and Pařez, "On the trail of Irish émigrés."

95 NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1786-7, 12.9.1786, carton no. 2729. Anthony Coskran was tutor at the house of Prince Lobkowitz, Francis Connelly, tutor at the house of the Baron Hildebrand and John Commins was tutor at the house of Earl Peter von Morzin of Zeitlang.

96 *Cursus philosophicus . . . adjunctis ex universa philosophia thesibus, et disputationi expositis . . . sub praesidio A. V. F. Petri Arcedeckne*, Pragae 1732. SK, JA V 35.

97 Issued by Simone Gritti, Bishop of Ferentino on 12.4.1727 in Ferentino for Patrick O'Kelly who, according to his own note on the reverse, dedicated it to the above-mentioned noblewoman on 7.5.1728. The original is in the private collection of Mr Ladislav Zápařka of Prague.

98 See Jan Beckovský, *Poselkyně starých příběhův českých. Díl druhý (od roku 1526–1715). Sv. třetí (L. 1625–1715 i s dodatky)* [*Messenger of Old Bohemian Stories. Vol 2 (1526–1715). Part 3 (1625–1715 with appendices)*], ed. Antonín Rezek (Praha: Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1880), where there is a report about the burial of Sir Benedict Kacius in "a cellar of the same Kacius family close to his parents. . ." in ". . .the church of the Irish Franciscans" in 1704 (23). In April 1752, funeral rites for Count Vršovec, killed in a duel, see Václav Mentberger, "Z deníku Jana Josefa hraběte z Vrtby" [From the Diary of Jan Josef Joseph, Count of Vrtba], *XXI. Ročenka Národopisného musea Plzeňska* (Plzeň: Národopisné muzeum Plzeňska, 1940) 15.

99 Anthony Bruodin, *Corolla oecodomiae . . . sive pars altera manualis summae totius theologiae speculativae*, Pragae 1664, 275.

100 Luboš Lancinger, "Z místopisu Nového Města pražského v 15.–19. století – Hybernská ulice I" [On the Topography of Prague's New Town in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries – Hybernian Street I], *PSH* 20 (1987): 173–179.

101 NA, ŘHyb Praha, no. 167, 1637–1657. (Dated by the years of reign of Emperor Ferdinand III).

102 Ibid., no. 141, 29.1.1691, Praha.

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103 Ibid., no. 127, 31.8.1679, Brandýs nad Labem.

104 Ibid., no. 129, 26.5.1680, Praha. We have not been able to identify the location of the estate.

105 More attention will be paid to the above-mentioned persons and events in the chapter *The Irish Franciscans in the Service of the Archbishops of Prague (1639–1692)*. In 1671 and, later, in 1675, priests from Our Lady of the Snows requested to be able to walk in front of the guardians of the Irish Franciscans during public processions because the Irish Franciscans walk "sub cruce nostra" only as guests and not as representatives of an independent house of a religious order. This purely formal question, decided in 1646 in favour of the Bohemian province, was only resolved in 1681, see ŘF, carton no. 22.

106 *Quartum quod incedit feliciter seu numerus quaternarius, celeberrimo collegio archi-episcopali Pragensi, felix, faustus, et fortunatus, discursu panegyrico deductus*, Pragae 1697, no pagination.

107 Antonín Podlaha, "Učení o neposkvrněném početí Panny Marie v Čechách před prohlášením učení toho za dogma" [The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Bohemia before the Declaration of the Teaching as Dogma], *ČKD* 45.7–8, 9, 10 (1904): 472–494, 553–569, 638–642 and ČKD 46.1, 2 (1905): 39–45, 135–144.

108 Gelasius Dobner, *Panegyricus divo Patricio Hiberniae apostolo . . . dictus*, Pragae 1751, SK, CQ VIII 8 /19. The author concentrated mainly on the saint's missionary work in Ireland.

109 According to his own testimony on 23 May 1643, Barducius was asked to come to the house called The Three Crowns to grant the last rites to the captain. When he arrived, he found two Irish Franciscans there. When the captain died the following day, Barducius asked the Irish Franciscans not to take the body away to be buried until the rights of the parish priest had been satisfied. The Irish Franciscans told him that they wanted to wait until other military dignitaries came and that then they would provide for his funeral. However, they broke this promise by secretly taking the deceased captain and burying him. The Irish claimed that the captain was not a parishioner at St. Gall's and they defended themselves by means of his last will. Barducius, however, accused them of tampering with the will. APA, carton no. 2100.

110 NA, APA, carton no. 2100.

111 NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1786-7, carton no. 2729, 21.10.1786.

112 Josef Polišenský, Tisíciletá Praha očima cizinců [*The Thousand-Year History of Prague through the Eyes of Foreigners*] (Praha: Academia, 1999) 63.

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